

RECORD OF THE
ART MUSEUM
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY



VOLUME XX 1961 NUMBER 2

MASTER I. A. OF ZWOLLE AND OTHERS:
A HANDSOME GIFT OF RARE PRINTS

FROM his very choice collection of fine prints, one of the best representative collections in private hands today, Dr. James H. Lockhart Jr., '35, has selected twelve which he has recently presented to the Art Museum. Because of the superlative quality and, in every instance, rarity of these works, they would number among the proudest possessions of the print room of any museum in the world. Dr. Lockhart has thus paid a compliment to Princeton's important teaching and research collection in strengthening it with this magnificent gift.¹

The earliest in date is an engraving of "Saint Jerome Removing the Thorn from the Lion's Paw" (Cover) by the Master of the Banderoles, an anonymous graphic artist who worked in Holland in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.² The print is of particular interest in that it is unique, no other copy having been found since Gustav Gugenbauer discovered what was apparently this one in 1912.³ It had been pasted, very likely in the early sixteenth century, onto the inside cover of a missal in the library of the St. Florian Monastery in Austria. With a composition amusingly naive in perspective, especially in the askew window at the right, this modest but precious work is a fine example of what might better be called folk art than fine art from the first century of printmaking in Western Europe.

¹ Seven of the prints which comprise the gift to Princeton are described and illustrated in *An Exhibition of 100 Prints and Drawings from the Collection of James H. Lockhart, Jr.*, May 4th to June 30th, 1939, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa., pp. 19, 35, 79, 87, 91, 123, 151 (hereafter referred to as *Carnegie Catalogue*).

Robert McDonald wrote in the foreword to this catalogue: "To my knowledge Mr. Lockhart has begun his extraordinary collection at a much earlier age than any other significant collector. In the grand tradition and one of the most inclusive in this country, it represents at their very highest quality many different styles, periods and mediums; and he has very generously permitted its use in attempts at stimulation and education in new ways."

² Accession number 59-24. 0.148 x 0.112 m. plate; 0.178 x 0.136 sheet. Washed. Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog* . . . , IV, Vienna, 1921, number 67, pp. 97-98; F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch & Flemish Etchings* . . . , XII, Amsterdam, n.d., p. 50; *Carnegie Catalogue*, p. 19. The photograph of this print and those for Figures 1-9, and 11 were taken by Mr. Harold Feinstein of Philadelphia; that for Figure 10 was taken by Miss Elizabeth Menzies of Princeton.

³ "Ein neuer Stich des Bandrollenmeisters, Der heilige Hieronymus im Gemach," *Die Graphischen Künste*, XXXV, 1912, Beilage, pp. 4-5.



Fig. 1. Degas, "The Engraver, Joseph Tourny."

The other prints in the Lockhart gift are all well known to connoisseurs. The great Alsatian engraver and painter Martin Schongauer's famous series devoted to the Passion of Christ is represented by "The Resurrection" (B 20; Figure 2) in superb condition.⁴ In the medium of woodcut there is a brilliant early impression of Albrecht Dürer's large "Adoration of the Magi" (B 3; Figure 3), an individual showpiece produced in 1511.⁵ This was the year in which the great German Master brought the art of the woodcut to an almost uncanny point of perfection

⁴ Accession number 59-28. Not in *Carnegie Catalogue*. The Art Museum is fortunate in owning the entire Passion series of Schongauer, a gift from David H. McAlpin '20 and Mrs. McAlpin (see *Record XIX*, 1960, p. 38); sumptuously mounted in a red leather volume, these prints of necessity vary greatly in quality of impression and condition, but it is doubtful whether the complete series could be assembled today in any condition.

⁵ Accession number 60-5. *Carnegie Catalogue*, p. 35.



Fig. 3. Dürer, "Adoration of the Magi."

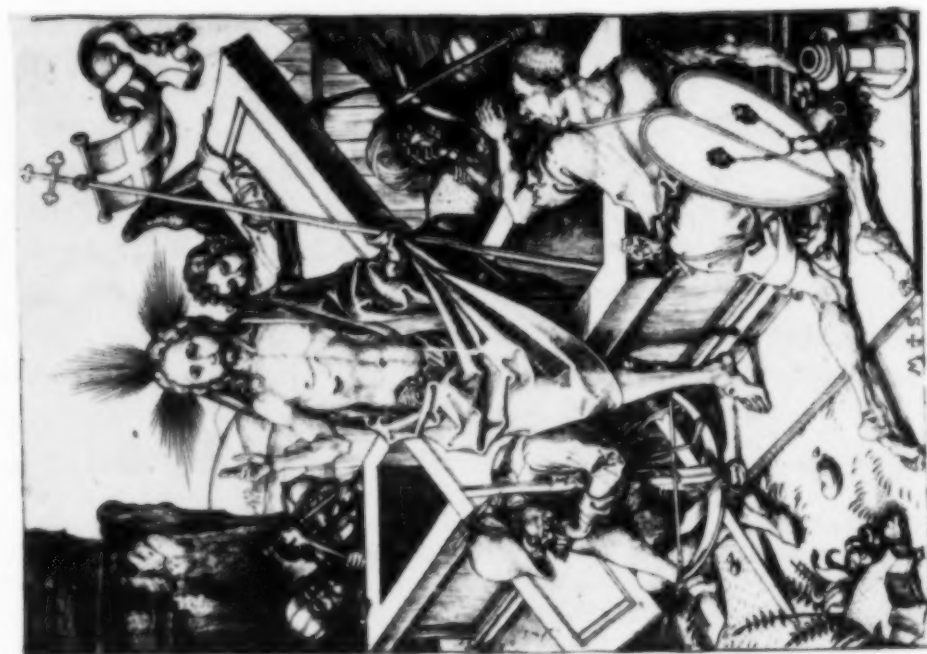


Fig. 2. Schongauer, "The Resurrection."



Fig. 4. Duvel, "The Angel Sounding
the Sixth Trumpet"

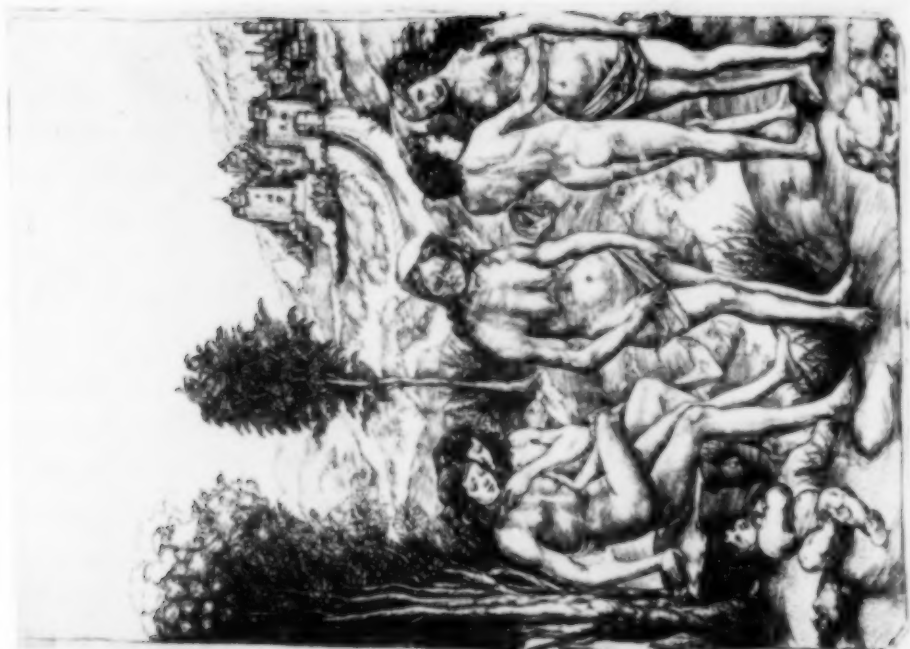


Fig. 5. Robetta, "Allegory of Envy"

which has probably never been surpassed. It may be observed in this stunning composition particularly in the realism of the wooden beams, with their value range from shadow black to bright sky white.

France is represented by two prints. One is Edgar Degas' portrait of his friend, "The Engraver Joseph Tourny" (LD 4; Figure 1), a small etching sketched in Rome when Degas was twenty-four years of age.⁶ The faint, diaphanous network of hatched lines in this print effects a mood of reverie, in direct contrast to the second French example, Jean Duvet's "The Angel Sounding the Sixth Trumpet" (RD 35; Figure 4).⁷ In a tumultuous, action-filled design which is even more crowded with figures than a late Gothic tapestry, this engraving demonstrates the glorious failure of the new spirit of the Renaissance in Italy to conquer completely the lingering mediaeval ideals of form and iconography. The print, of utmost rarity in superb condition, is from Duvet's most noted production, the Apocalypse series of twenty-four plates, commissioned from the artist by the French Kings Francis I and Henry II.

From Italy itself at the beginning of the sixteenth century is a classic print by the engraver Cristofano Robetta, "Allegory of Envy" (B 24; Figure 5), depicting an aging woman who sadly reflects upon young love, and childbirth, as things of the past for her.⁸ Not only of interest for teaching purposes in showing the preoccupation of the Florentine with carefully posed nude bodies which are delineated with insistent outlines, Robetta pays his respects to the leadership of Germany in printmaking by borrowing from Albrecht Dürer the motifs of the walled towns in the distant landscape, the clump of trees at the left, and even the foreground grasses.⁹ Although understandably

⁶ Accession number 60-6. *Carnegie Catalogue*, p. 151.

⁷ Accession number 59-23. *Carnegie Catalogue*, p. 123.

⁸ Accession number 60-4. *Carnegie Catalogue*, p. 79. Miss Frances Jones has kindly called our attention to the interesting fact that the subject matter of this print was copied with almost no change on an Italian maiolica lustre ware dish, Gubbio, dated 1525, and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (illustrated and described in Bernard Rackham, *Catalogue of Italian Maiolica*, London, 1940, no. 674; a second dish from the same workshop, no. 675, repeats from the print the single motif of the pair of lovers at the right).

⁹ The Dürer engraving is B 73, "The Effects of Jealousy."



Fig. 6. Lucas van Leyden,
"Mohammed and the Monk Sergius."

there was no reason for Dürer's depiction of human figures to cause a stir in Italy, the landscape backgrounds of his prints did make a strong impression and were frequently adapted by the Italians, who also put to use for the same purpose the engravings of Dürer's personal friend in Holland, Lucas van Leyden.

Two superb prints by the greatest Dutch printmaker prior to Rembrandt, Lucas van Leyden, are included in the selection. The virtuosity of this artist, as well as his early dependence on Dürer rather than on the Netherlandish tradition of Master I. A. of Zwolle, are patent in the large print of "Mohammed and the Monk Sergius" (B 126; Figure 6).¹⁰ It is the earliest dated

¹⁰ Accession number 60-2. Not in *Carnegie Catalogue*. Up to date information on this print is to be found in the exhibition catalogue of the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, *Lucas van Leyden en tijdgenoten*, 1952, no. 9, pp. 13-14.



Fig. 7. Lucas van Leyden, "Return of the Prodigal Son."

print of his oeuvre, 1508 indicating an accomplishment of Lucas as a youth of nineteen.¹¹ Thus we may excuse a certain maladroitness in the drawing of the legs and feet of the featured figures, particularly those of the Prophet, who is asleep at the left. No apology need be given however for the handling in soft tonal values of the middle distance trees and figures, and the far away landscape. Interestingly enough the Italian engraver Marcantonio copied this landscape for the background of his adaptation of Michelangelo's cartoon for the Battle of Cascina (B 487). This obscure legend of Mohammed, which moralizes against overindulgence in wine, is drawn from the account of the Flemish Doctor Jehan de Mandeville's trip to Palestine in 1327.

The prodigious talent of Lucas van Leyden is again demonstrated in a slightly later, undated composition, the famous "Return of the Prodigal Son" (B 78; Figure 7).¹² He now achieves a superb blend of figure groups with architecture and landscape, in that squat rectangular format that he preferred

¹¹ This deduction is based on the present belief that he was born not in 1494, as van Mander said, but in 1489.

¹² Accession number 60-1. *Carnegie Catalogue*, p. 91.



Fig. 8. Rembrandt, "St. Francis Praying beneath a Tree."

for both engraved and painted compositions. The almost classical perfection of the distant landscape at the right, a beautiful vignette of mountains, trees and houses seen across a body of water, led to its adoption several times by painters in Italy, an attestation not so much of the lack of imagination of those mannerist painters who availed themselves of a model conveniently at hand as of the greatness of Dutch and German artists in the depiction of landscape.

Of all the mediums involving exclusively the use of line that have been devised for the making of prints, etching is the most sensitive and flexible. "Invented" by the Swiss artist Urs Graf at the beginning of the sixteenth century and tested but abandoned by Dürer in favor of the engraved plate from which a larger number of impressions of quality could be produced, the technique of etching found its greatest exponent and master in Rembrandt. Like a faithful pet, the etcher's needle gave solace to the Leyden-born draughtsman throughout his life.

No fewer than three of Rembrandt's larger compositions have been included in this group: "Saint Francis praying beneath a



Fig. 9. Rembrandt, "St. Jerome in an Italian Landscape."

Tree" (B 107; H 292; Figure 8),¹³ "Saint Jerome in an Italian Landscape" (B 104; H 267; Figure 9),¹⁴ and "The Death of the Virgin" (B 99; H 161; Figure 10).¹⁵ All are in faultless condition, the first two being magnificent early impressions charged with burr. "The Death of the Virgin" is an important addition to any representative collection of the prints of Rembrandt in that it is perhaps the most baroque in form and feeling of his entire production. In Rembrandt's interpretation of the dying Mother of God, not only are the twelve Apostles present but all humanity, as it were, clusters about the gnarled four-poster bed, while curiously misshapened angels are borne into the room like phantoms on a cloud. Only one noted earlier artist had

¹³ Accession number 59-27. Not in *Carnegie Catalogue*.

¹⁴ Accession number 59-26. Not in *Carnegie Catalogue*.

¹⁵ Accession number 59-25. Not in *Carnegie Catalogue*.



Fig. 10. Rembrandt, "The Death of the Virgin."

represented the event as a democratic disaster, and that was the Flemish "folk-painter" Pieter Brueghel. In Rembrandt's composition a giant Bible has been opened on the table at the left, while from behind parted drapes at the right the artist himself peers unobtrusively upon the scene. Both devices are tokens of the personal approach to Christianity of this first and perhaps only great Protestant artist.

As a climax to this glittering parade of prints we will conclude with the brightest star of all, one of the monumental examples from the fifteenth century and the chief work of that Dutch contemporary of Geertgen tot Sint Jans, Master I. A. of Zwolle, "The Crucifixion with Horsemen" (B 6, L 6 II; Figure 11).¹⁶

¹⁶ Accession number 60-3. *Carnegie Catalogue*, p. 87.



Fig. 11. Master I. A. of Zwolle,
"The Crucifixion with Horsemen."

The larger of two versions of the Crucifixion by an engraver whose total output numbered but twenty-six subjects,¹⁷ the Lockhart print was the *pièce de résistance* in a great collection of old master prints sold circa 1932 by Gilhofer and Ranschburg.¹⁸ Those laudatory clichés that are used in the catalogues of print dealers are usually as repetitive and tiresome as the ones used today by Hollywood magnates; but one must admit that when the gentlemen print-dealers from Lucerne described this print as being "*von ganz aussergewöhnlicher vollkommen tadelloser Erhaltung*" and emphasized the virtual non-existence on

¹⁷ A fine impression of the smaller "Crucifixion" (L 5) is in the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago.

¹⁸ *An Important Collection of Rare and Choice Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts by the Old Masters of the XVth to XVII Century*, Catalogue XXIX, No. 272, illustrated in full size as the folded frontispiece.

the market of prints by this master, they did not need to cross their fingers. All of the other twenty-four copies of "The Crucifixion with Horsemen" known to Lehrs are in bad condition, have been trimmed, and are for the most part mediocre in impression.¹⁹ Furthermore ours is one of only five known copies of the rare second state, the condition of the plate after the artist shaded the hills so as to bring the figures into relief, and before the also scarce final state in which he decided to give texture to the wood of the central cross.

Two of the Master's three signature devices occur on this print: the first is the word "ZWOTT" above the cross at the top, while in the bottom margin at the center occurs what is now thought to be not a "weaver's shuttle" as was suggested long ago but rather a drill with which the goldsmith pierced holes in precious materials.²⁰ Others of his prints occasionally bear the letters I, A, and sometimes M. The "Zwott" doubtless stands for the Dutch city Zwolle, where the artist would have worked; but despite all of these clues his identity is still uncertain. The recent suggestion by Thom J. de Vries that he was the painter Jan van den Mijnnesten, who appears in the Zwolle archives between 1462 and 1504, is not meeting with general acceptance.²¹ (This, alas, is the rule rather than the exception in modern scholarship when someone tries to solve a long-standing problem of identity.)

Even if we assume that the Master I. A. of Zwolle was a print-maker and goldsmith, and not a painter, it is clear that he was strongly influenced by the compositional formulae established by the eminent Flemish painters Hugo van der Goes and Rogier van der Weyden, the latter's figure types evident in this print in the group of Mary, John, and the Holy Women. "The Crucifixion with Horsemen" also appears to have been directly in-

¹⁹ The only other copy in the United States, to our knowledge, is in the Metropolitan Museum (inventory number 29.48.2). It is in poor condition, having been folded and trimmed at the bottom.

²⁰ K. G. Boon, "Le Maître au Monogramme I.A.," *L'Oeil*, No. 64, 4th N.F., April, 1960, pp. 28-35. Boon reproduces the Munich copy of the first state of our print.

²¹ *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, Nov. 18, 1949, p. 3. That the Master was a painter was also proposed by G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, II, The Hague, 1937, pp. 276-277 ("De Meester I.M. Zwollensis als Schilder?"). Boon, *loc.cit.*, rejects the identification with Jan van den Mijnnesten and believes that Master I. A. was exclusively a graphic artist and goldsmith.

spired, with its crowded figure action of spear-bearing soldiers in exotic garb, by the masterwork of Martin Schongauer, "Christ Bearing the Cross" (B 21). The techniques are very similar, but the Dutchman's line is less alive and more perfunctory than that of the German. Since the Art Museum possesses a splendid impression of this print by Schongauer, the student is able to compare the two side by side.²² He can thus become acquainted with the more subtle points in connoisseurship of fifteenth century engraving.

Both in its historical aspect and as a living medium the fine print embodies a mode of expression which is enjoying a new vogue in our time. How many Princeton students, and specialists, will be indebted in the future to the munificence of Dr. Lockhart in making available for study these twelve masterworks of the past we will not venture to guess. We do know that all are serving now and will serve in the years to come an important role in exhibitions, open to the public, which are arranged in connection with courses offered by the Department of Art and Archaeology.

R.A.K.

²² See *Record*, XIV, 1955, pp. 22-30.

TWO DRAWINGS AFTER A LOST TRIPTYCH BY HIERONYMUS BOSCH

THE Princeton Art Museum acquired in 1958, under the directorship of Ernest DeWald, two drawings in pen, washed with blue, which are of identical size (Figures 1 and 2).¹ They form a pair; one represents *Paradise* and the other *Hell*. They were made in all probability by a Netherlandish artist about the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

In our opinion these are copies of an engraving by Hieronymus Cock, representing a lost triptych of *The Last Judgment* by Hieronymus Bosch (the engraving published here in Figure 3 is in the Kupferstichkabinet in Munich). Probably our master also copied the center panel which, however, has not yet turned up. The engraver represented the triptych with the original frames, probably to show that he was working after the panel itself. The copier left the frames out. We need not discuss here the hypothesis that the engraving represents perhaps *The Last Judgment* which Philippe le Beau commissioned from Hieronymus Bosch, according to a document of 1504,² but it should be noted that the style of Bosch is translated into the idiom of the mid-sixteenth century.³

The central panel shows the struggle for human souls between angels and demons in a way which leaves the outcome undecided. Where the first plane is filled with demons alone, the salvation of the souls, which have passed over the Acheron with the help of the angels, is relegated to the background. Another peculiarity of this Last Judgment is that Christ the Judge is missing from the center panel—instead of him the sun appears, obviously signifying *Sol Justitiae*.

The composition of the left wing consists of two main parts: in the lower part is represented the earthly paradise with the fountain of youth, with a boat full of souls ferried by angels, in all probability the symbol of the Church, and with a tent on the riverbank, also filled with souls, probably a symbol of

¹ Accession Numbers 58-65, 58-66. Height, 0.303 m. Width, 0.108 m. Purchased with the Laura P. Hall Memorial Fund.

² Concerning the lost *Last Judgment* of 1504, cf. Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch*, Basle, 1937, pp. 55 f.; Baldass, *H. Bosch*, Vienna 1959, p. 32.

³ Baldass, *op.cit.*, p. 33.



Figures 1 and 2. Two Drawings in Princeton, *Paradise and Hell*
after Hieronymus Bosch.



Fig. 3. Engraving by Hieronymus Cock, in Munich.



Fig. 4. Hieronymus Bosch, *The Last Judgment*, in Bruges.

the "heavenly tent."⁴ In the upper half there appears floating on clouds a late gothic structure in two storeys, obviously inspired by church architecture of the time and signifying the heavenly paradise. The structure is peopled by angels, saints, and in the center by the frontally seated figure of God the Father or Christ.

We may trace all these motifs in other works by Hieronymus Bosch, both earlier and later than this one. The fountain of youth appears for the first time, among the works still preserved, in the *Earthly Paradise* in Venice⁵ where its form is a compromise between Gothic and Renaissance. It reappears in the left wing of the *Haywagon*, this time transformed into rocks, anticipating the "style rustique."⁶ We see it again in the left wing of the Bruges triptych, *The Last Judgment*, where it takes on a late gothic but more elaborate and sophisticated form (Figure 4).⁷ Finally, it appears in the left wing of *The Garden of Delights*, where the fountain seems to be a tall, graceful, pink flower inspired by late gothic ornaments.⁸

The "boat of the Church," which has a tent on it and a cross on the mast (and which should not be confused with the ship of fools which has no tent)⁹ appears first in the early *Paradise* wing at Wildenstein's, where it has a simpler shape (Figure 5); it reappears on the left wing of the Bruges triptych (Figure 4), where the shape seems to be more developed than in our drawing.

The "tent of heaven" (which should not be confused with the "tent of gluttons")¹⁰ appears again in the Wildenstein *Paradise* wing in the foreground in a somewhat simpler version (Fig. 5).¹¹

⁴ Concerning the conception of the "heavenly tent," cf. Isaiah 40.22 and 66.1.

⁵ Tolnay, *op.cit.*, ill. 28 B.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ill. 33.

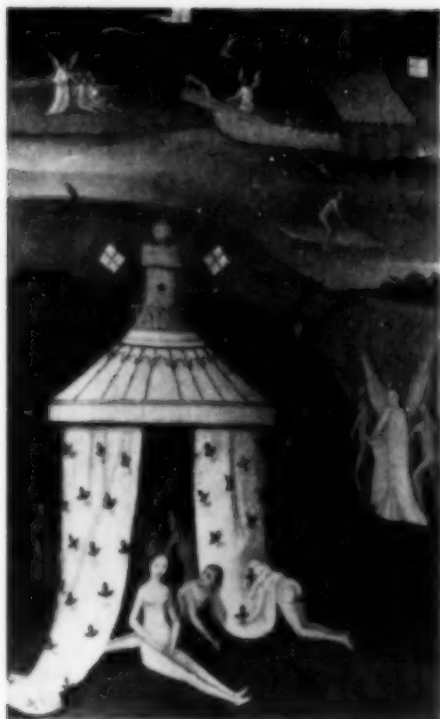
⁷ Concerning the authenticity of the Bruges triptych, I changed my opinion upon seeing it in 1960 after its cleaning. I now believe that because of the high quality and the wonderful grisaille on the verso it should be considered an original.^{*}

⁸ *Ibid.*, ill. 72.

⁹ *Ibid.*, ill. 21.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ill. 30.

¹¹ The wings of *Paradise* and of *Hell* at Wildenstein's are chiefly notable on account of the beauty of their gamut of colors. They are conceived as a contrasting pair: *Paradise* shows a delicate, cool, and bright harmony, in which the white of the tent with its blue flower decoration, and the light pink of the angel's mantle and of the boat in the second plane stand out against the exquisite cold, grayish blue-green of the background; *Hell*, on the other hand,



Figures 5 and 6. Hieronymus Bosch, *Paradise and Hell*, in New York.

The gothic structure of the heavenly paradise can be traced back to the representation of paradise in the right bottom corner of *The Seven Deadly Sins* in the Prado, according to our chronology one of the earliest preserved works by Bosch.¹² Again the architectural forms are much simpler than in our triptych.

Some of the main motifs of the *Hell* wing of our triptych also occur in other works by Bosch. Thus, for instance, the man

is dominated by a warm brown background (both on the ground and on the mound behind the bed) against which shines the pink of the bedcover and of the tower at the top left and the discreet gray-blue of the bed canopy. (This warm brown anticipates the foregrounds in P. Bruegel's paintings.)

Both wings seem to have been cut at the top and originally belonged in all probability to a triptych, with the Last Judgment as central panel. In both, the figures are painted *alla prima* as flat silhouettes, almost without modelling by shadows, and this technique speaks in favor of a relatively early date, a fact which is also supported by the relative simplicity of the individual motifs which will recur in a more complex way in Bosch's later paintings. It seems that we should date these two wings shortly before the triptych of *The Haywagon*.

I wish to express my appreciation to Mr. Georges Wildenstein for permission to publish these two hitherto unpublished panels which were first attributed to Bosch by the late Max J. Friedländer.

¹² Tolnay, *op.cit.*, ill. 7 B.

being roasted on the spit, the man being boiled in the cauldron, and the man lying in a bed with a nun and a demon on each side of it (Luxuria), can all be found as early as in *The Seven Deadly Sins*.¹³ This last motif recurs also in the Wildenstein *Hell* wing (Figure 6) and at the left side of the central panel of *The Last Judgment* in the Vienna Academy.¹⁴

In the latter, two other motifs similar to the ones in the Princeton *Hell* will also appear: Beelzebub enthroned¹⁵ and the man outstretched on a wooden bench into whose mouth boiling lead is being poured.¹⁶

The comparison of these analogous motifs throughout Bosch's works reveals that he began with very simple, almost primitive forms (*The Seven Deadly Sins* and the Wildenstein wings) and reached only gradually the more complicated, richer, late gothic shapes.¹⁷ Our triptych seems to be midway in this development. Like other great masters of the time, Bosch liked to represent the same motifs, but without repeating himself exactly. Thus, one can follow from work to work the organic growth of Bosch's artistic conceptions. Comparing them is like watching the development of a flower from the bud.

Charles de Tolnay

¹³ *Ibid.*, ill. 7 A. (In the print and in the Princeton drawing, however, two figures are represented in the bed.)

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ill. 62.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ill. 64.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, ill. 63.

¹⁷ This chronology, first suggested by the author, *op.cit.*, has since been accepted by later scholars, e.g., von Baldass, J. Combe, Linfert.

THE GRATIOT PORTRAITS BY THOMAS SULLY

IN 1829, during the era of the "Frontier Democracy" of Andrew Jackson, a more handsome couple could scarcely be found in the American Republic than General Charles Gratiot (Figure 2)¹ and his beautiful wife, née Ann Belin (Figure 1).² General Gratiot, at forty-one, enjoyed the appointment of "Inspector" at the United States Military Academy at West Point. His wife, a Virginian according to family tradition, was thirty years of age.

In 1829, also, Thomas Sully, a noted portrait painter of Philadelphia who had already depicted Jefferson and the Marquis de Lafayette and was quickly becoming the biographer in paint of the "new aristocracy" of America, painted the Gratiots in his most ingratiating style. The story of these two portraits could well end with such a brief comment.

The Gratiots, however, were people of tougher fibre than the elegant facade endowed them by Sully in his portraits would indicate. Though their lives constitute a footnote to American history, they played an important role in the expanding frontier of the Jacksonian concept of government and their careers touched on national events, if tangentially, to leave a lasting mark on once remote regions of our country.³

General Charles Gratiot was born in St. Louis on August 29,

¹ Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Signed and dated lower left *TS 1829*. Presented to the United States Military Academy by the Corps of Engineers in 1830. I should like to express my appreciation to Mr. Joseph M. O'Donnell, Chief, Archives and History Division of the Academy for assistance in compiling information on the career of General Gratiot and for permission to reproduce the portrait in West Point.

² Oil on canvas; height, 0.90 m., width, 0.69 m. (35½ x 27¼ inches). Signed and dated lower left *TS 1829*. Accession number 60-33. Presented to the Art Museum in 1960 by Mr. Campbell Townsend, a descendant of the Gratiots.

³ I am particularly indebted in this study to Mr. Campbell Townsend, donor of the portrait of Mrs. Gratiot, who initially provided some leading details of his family's history. On the basis of these clues, W. Howard Adams of Blue Springs, Missouri, enlisted the effective aid of Mrs. Frances H. Stadler, Manuscripts Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society who kindly transmitted important information on the Gratiot family in St. Louis. An undated account of General Gratiot and his career in Detroit, the Great Lakes area and elsewhere, written sometime during the last twenty-five years by W. K. Kelsey of the *Detroit News* proved equally or more informative. I should like to express my gratitude to all for their kindnesses.



Fig. 1. Thomas Sully, "Mrs. Charles Gratiot," Portrait in Princeton.

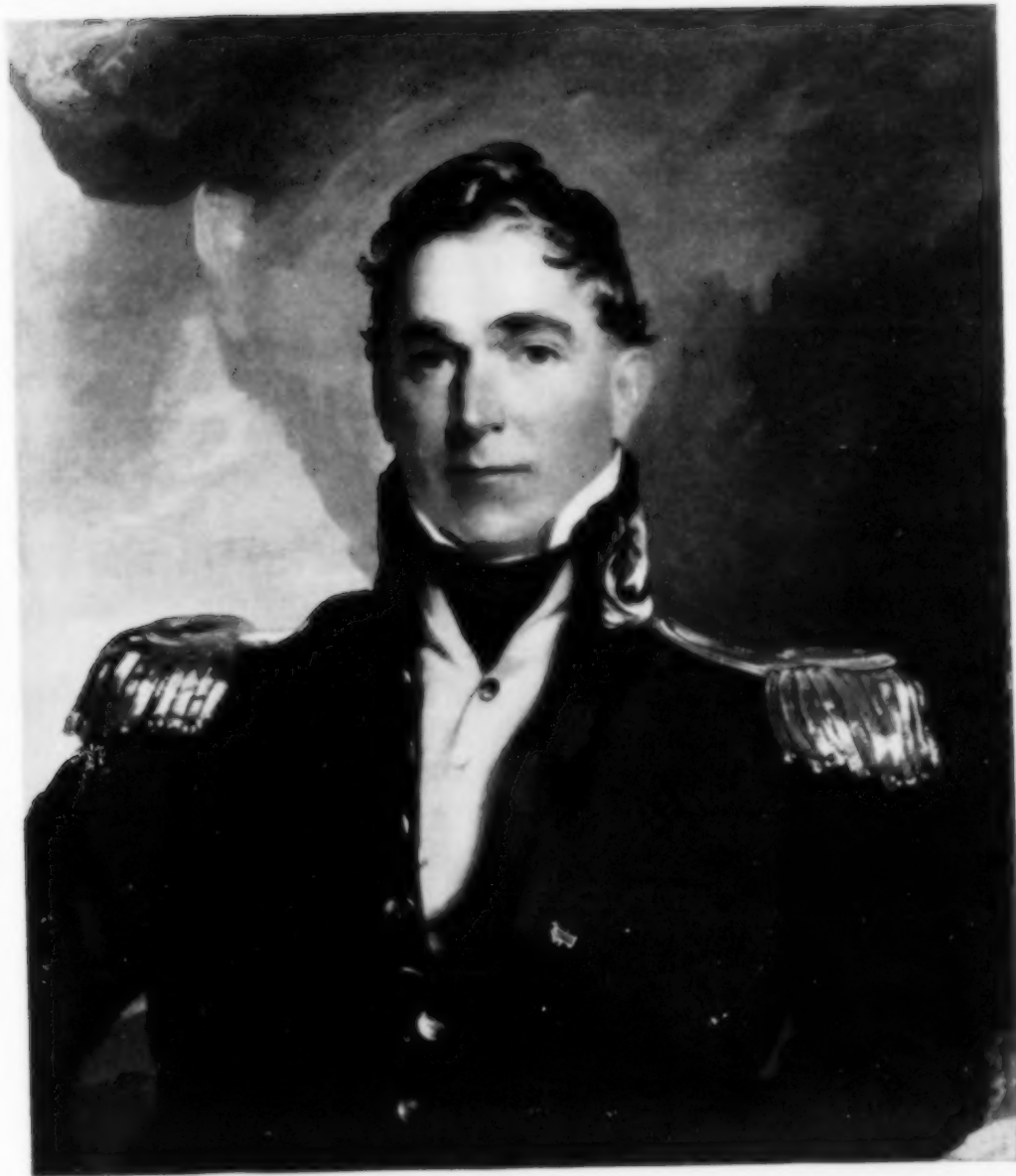


Fig. 2. Thomas Sully, "General Charles Gratiot," Portrait in West Point.

1786, and died there on May 18, 1855. Between these two inconsequential dates, a dramatic career occurred. His father, Charles Gratiot, Sr., was born in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1752, of Huguenot ancestry. At the age of seventeen, the elder Gratiot moved to London to seek his fortune. From there he was sent, in the classic tradition of emigrants to the New World, by a London uncle to another uncle in Montreal where he spent six years learning the art of trading with the Indians. This experience served him in good stead when he subsequently moved to the small settlement of Cahokia on the Mississippi River and opened a general store. After George Rogers Clark annexed the river area for the newly founded United States, Gratiot, a French-speaking trader popular with the native Creole population, moved on to St. Louis in 1781, a location ideally suited, because of its French traditions, for an ambitious frontier-trader gifted with language.

St. Louis had been founded in 1764 by Pierre Laclede who had in his entourage a boy of fourteen, Auguste Chouteau, whom Laclede left in command of thirty men with instructions to establish the new community. Subsequently, Auguste and his half-brother Pierre, through sagacious dealings with the Osage Indians, amassed a sizeable fortune and became one of the most prominent families of the area. Among their various enterprises, they established on the Missouri River fur trading posts on the site that eventually was to become Kansas City.

Meanwhile the elder Charles Gratiot, now a promising merchant of good background, joined the Chouteau circle and married Victoire, sister of the Chouteaux. He soon became the brothers' principal agent in New Orleans, on the Eastern Seaboard, and in Europe, while furthering his own interests in furs, spirits, salt, and land. His friendship with John Jacob Astor indicates that the range of his dealings extended beyond the Middle West and his prominence, locally, is indicated by the fact that the ceremony transferring Upper Louisiana to the United States took place on his front porch in 1804 with Gratiot acting as interpreter. The eldest of his nine children was Charles, Jr., the future General and the subject of Sully's portrait.

Contemporaneously, President Jefferson, seeking to reconcile the French population after the Louisiana Purchase, selected four French youths from the Missouri territory for appointment to the United States Military Academy which he had recently founded at West Point. Charles Gratiot, Jr. was among these, graduated with honor in 1806, and accepted a commission as a second lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers. His rise was rapid. By 1808, he was a captain and in the War of 1812 served with distinction as chief engineer in General William Henry Harrison's army. He participated in the defense of Fort Meigs, above Toledo, in 1813, the attack on Fort Mackinac in 1814, and subsequently founded Fort Gratiot (now Fort Huron) on the St. Clair River to contain the possible danger of invasion by British and Indians from Canada. With the conclusion of the war and a promotion to the rank of major, Gratiot was transferred to command the construction of fortifications on the Delaware River, then served briefly in Detroit as chief engineer of the area, fortified Old Point Comfort with Fortress Monroe and Fort Calhoun, and subsequently achieved the honor of having his name attached to Gratiot Avenue in Detroit and the villages of Gratiot in Michigan and Wisconsin. By 1828, he was Chief of Engineers, a brigadier-general, and honored with the position of "Inspector" at West Point,⁴ the role he occupied at the time of Sully's portrait.

The archives at the Military Academy contain three documents pertaining to the commissioning of General Gratiot's portrait.⁵ The first, dated January 27th, 1830, is addressed to Thomas Sully by Lieutenant Colonel Sylvanus Thayer, Superintendent of the Academy. The commission for the portrait follows:

⁴ According to the *Regulations for the United States Military Academy*, dated 3 January 1815, "The Commandant of the Corps of Engineers shall be the 'Inspector' of the Academy, and shall visit it officially and report thereon to the War Department with such alterations and improvements as he and the Superintendent may deem necessary. The Superintendent will receive orders from the Inspector and will make all returns and communications relative to the Academy to him only."

⁵ Thomas Hamilton Ormsbee, *The Sully Portraits at the United States Military Academy*, West Point, N.Y., 1940.

Dear Sir,

On behalf of the Corp of Engineers, I have the honor to request that you will furnish the Military Academy with another specimen of your distinguished skill by painting the Portrait of Brigadier General Charles Gratiot, Colonel of the Corp.

In reply to this communication be pleased to inform me about what time the Portrait (should you undertake to paint it) will probably be completed and forwarded to West Point.

With great affect and regard

I am your obedient svt.

S. Thayer

The second document is a receipted bill to the Corps of Engineers indicating that Sully received \$100 for this portrait.

The third record indicates, as follows, that officers junior to General Gratiot at the Academy bore the brunt of the costs of the picture by assessments on their non-too-lavish salaries, in proportion to their respective ranks:

1 Lt. Colonel -	(\$60)		\$ 8.25
2 Majors	(\$50)	(\$6.87½)	\$ 13.75
6 Captains	(\$40)	(\$5.50)	\$ 33.00
6 1st Lieutenants	(\$30)	(\$4.09)	\$ 24.54
6 2nd Lieutenants	(\$25)	(\$3.41)	\$ 20.46
			<hr/>
			\$100.00

The Academy's documentation is straight-forward and clear, but the facts of the correspondence do not agree with Sully's lists⁶ of the portraits he painted of General Gratiot, his price for the portrait now at West Point, or the actual date on the picture which corresponds neither with Sully's lists nor with the Academy's documents for the painting.

Sully records three portraits of the General painted for or at West Point. The first listed in the Biddle and Fielding catalogue (No. 665) bears the notation, "Begun June 26th, 1830, finished July 5th, 1830." Despite the fact that five months had elapsed

⁶ Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, *The Life and Works of Thomas Sully*, Philadelphia, 1921, pp. 161-162, nos. 665-667.

between Colonel Thayer's letter of commission and the execution of the portrait, such delay is not unusual. It is curious, however, that Sully itemized the price of the painting at \$75.00, while the Academy's receipted bill indicates that Sully received \$100.00 for the portrait. Also West Point's canvas of the General bears the date 1829, rather than being consistent with Sully's date in his register.

Because of the date of 1829 on the inscribed Academy portrait, the two additional representations of the General listed by Sully (Nos. 666, 667), whose whereabouts are presently unknown, cannot be associated with the immediate question, since Sully dates them respectively in 1832 and 1833, a period too late to incur normal confusion in his carefully kept records.

The Art Museum's portrait of Mrs. Gratiot appears in Sully's register with the notation, "Begun June 30th, 1829, finished August 5th, 1829," which is consistent with the date on the portrait. It seems reasonable to suppose that both paintings were commissioned by the Gratiots in 1829 and that the portrait of the General subsequently went to West Point to fulfill the commission of the Corps of Engineers. It must be pointed out, however, that the two portraits were not executed as a pair since the scale and size of the pictures bear little relationship to one another. Further unanswered questions remain for future investigation.

The General served as Inspector at West Point from 1828 to 1838. In 1835, he selected a brilliant young Lieutenant, Robert E. Lee, to go to St. Louis, his native city, to supervise the construction of levee works on Bloody Island and between the island and the Illinois shore for the protection of the harbor of St. Louis. This was an important event in the life of another future general.

But this was Gratiot's last great military success. As Ormsbee⁷ notes in his comments on the Sully portrait at West Point, the General "was a man accustomed to having his instructions and commands respected and executed." He engaged, stubbornly, in a quarrel with his auditors insisting that the accounts entrusted to his care be left to his personal judgment, while his opponents thought otherwise. As W. K. Kelsey noted in his ac-

⁷ *Loc.cit.*

count of the General in the *Detroit News*, "It looked like a case of a man of action wanting to run the show in his own manner and the boys on the desks determined to make him toe their mark." When the crisis came, General Gratiot was ordered to pay some \$30,000 into a fund he was accused of having misused. He refused the order and was removed from the army in 1838 by President van Buren. His decision to appeal to his former commander, General Harrison, elected President in 1840, was aborted by Harrison's sudden death. His initial appeals to the courts ended in 1846 with the Supreme Court ruling against him. He returned the money in accordance with the process of law. As a man of principle and integrity, he continued to fight for reinstatement in the army and the restoration of his honor. A Senate committee praised his long and brilliant record of service to his country, but found itself powerless to act in his behalf. The General died in St. Louis in 1855.

His eventful career overshadowed that of his beautiful wife. Little is known of her beyond the following factual events. She was married to the General in Philadelphia on April 22, 1819, and painted by Thomas Sully in 1829. She bore the General two daughters: Victoria, who became the wife of the Marquis C. F. de Montholon, French Minister to the United States, and Julia Augusta, who married Charles P. Chouteau of St. Louis. Mrs. Gratiot died in St. Louis, on December 26, 1886, at the age of eighty-seven years.

Mr. Campbell Townsend, donor of the portrait of Mrs. Gratiot, recalls a prized letter in his family's possession sent to "a Miss Gratiot" from Robert E. Lee, addressing her as "Cousin" and regretting that he could not attend her wedding. It is obvious that this gentleman remembered with affection the Gratiots of St. Louis, who, like him, though in lesser degree, touched on history.

P.J.K.

A LEAD-GLAZED CUP

WHEN Cicero was travelling in the east in 50 B.C., his friend Atticus asked him to order "Rhosica vasa," presumably vases made in the town of Rhosus on the modern Gulf of Alexandretta, and presumably vases of unusual ceramic interest. Cicero expressed surprise, as we know from one of his letters, since Atticus, like the well-to-do of his day, ate off metal dishes, but apparently he complied with his friend's request.¹ The only class of Roman pottery which can be called unusual and which can be associated particularly with the region of north Syria is the lead-glazed ware that we ourselves are happy to add to our collection.

For centuries the pottery of the ancient Mediterranean world, when glazed, was coated or decorated with a substance which was not essentially different from the clay body of the vessel itself. The predominantly black and red coloring resulted from the controllable atmospheric conditions of the kiln in which the pottery was fired.² An interesting ceramic variation was introduced in the second half of the first century B.C. which added to the diversity of wares traded in the expanding Roman empire. This pottery was covered with glaze in the true sense of the word, a vitreous coating resulting from the fusion of silica and other minerals (in this case, a high proportion of lead). Not only was this new surface more glossy and impervious than the old alkaline "glazes"; it offered colors on the yellow side of the spectrum—emerald green, topaz yellow, and brown—which, especially when combined with underglaze painting in the familiar earth colors, provided a novel range of polychromy.³ The two-handled cup recently acquired by the Museum is a typical example of this class of pottery; the shape is a popular one; the use of ornament in relief, particularly a natural, vegetable motif like the spray of ivy, is a preferred form of

¹ F. F. Jones, "Rhosica Vasa," *American Journal of Archaeology* XLIX, 1945, pp. 45ff.

² For a recent discussion and bibliography on the subject, see Joseph V. Noble, "The Technique of Attic Vase-Painting," *American Journal of Archaeology* 64, 1960, pp. 307ff.

³ Lead-glazed pottery is discussed in detail in Hetty Goldman, ed., *The Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus, I*, Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 191ff.



decoration; the choice of green for the exterior and mustard-yellow for the interior is a favorite one.⁴

The process of manufacturing such a cup was somewhat more elaborate than usual. As in the case of other classes of Roman pottery with relief ornament, such as the famous Arretine ware, the body of the cup was thrown on a potter's wheel, but shaped within a revolving mould from which it received the design. The mould was removed from the wheel, the clay shell allowed to dry and shrink away from the walls, and handles were added. The cup was fired in the kiln, glazed, and fired again. To a modern ceramist, this seems like normal procedure, but in antiquity, when one firing of pottery was universal practice,

⁴ Accession number 61-14. Height, 0.088 m. Museum Purchase. As the photograph indicates, the glaze is somewhat worn and has turned silvery white in areas, a sign of disintegration of the glassy surface comparable to the deterioration and resulting iridescence found on ancient glass which has been subjected to certain conditions in burial. The photograph was made by Mr. Harold Feinstein of Philadelphia.

this was a radical departure dictated by technical considerations. Excavations at Tarsus, in southern Turkey, produced the conclusive evidence for the two firings and showed that the freshly glazed pottery was stacked in kilns on saucers designed to catch the drip of the glaze which became very fluid under heat.⁵ The cost of manufacture must have been high, not only because of the expense of two firings, but because the glazed ware could not be packed tightly in the kiln. It is therefore not surprising that the lead-glazed pottery was uncommon.

The technique of lead-glazing appears to have originated in Syria and to have flourished at the very beginning of the Roman imperial period in a limited number of manufacturing centers in Syria, along the Anatolian coast, and around the Black Sea. Knowledge of the process spread to the west and the ware was produced at a somewhat later date and in inferior quality in Roman Gaul. It seems very probable that any promise which this ware held for the ceramic industry was nipped in the bud by the nearly contemporary discovery that glass could be blown, cheaply and easily, into a variety of shapes. Since pottery was, at best, an inexpensive substitute for the metalware of the well-appointed Roman table, the lead-glazed ware could not compete economically with glass and the relatively short-lived experiment was allowed to die.

F.F.J.

⁵ See Note 3.

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